## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 03071 01 OF 02 262138 Z

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 DODE-00 IO-13 EA-11 EB-11 RSR-01

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P R 261835 Z JUN 73 FM USMISSION NATO TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 615 INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3090 USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3071

DEPT PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD

E. O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJ: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: DUTCH DRAFT OF DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

- 1. ON JUNE 25, DUTCH PERMREP SPIERENBURG SENT A LETTER TO SYG LUNS AND TO OTHER NATO PERMREPS ENCLOSING A NETHERLANDS DRAFT FOR AN "ATLANTIC DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES." IN HIS COVERING LETTER, SPIERENBURG REFERRED TO DUTCH FONMIN VAN DER STOEL'S STATEMENT AT THE COPENHAGEN MINISTERIAL THAT HE INTENDED TO CIRCULATE SUCH A DRAFT. SPIERENBURG ALSO RECALLED VAN DER STOEL'S REMARK THAT THE "ULTIMATE TEXT OF THE DECLARATION IS IN NO WAY INTENDED TO BE A SUBSTITUTE FOR CONCRETE ACTION ON SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IN THE APPROPRIATE FORA OR MEANT TO CHANGE THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY."
- 2. AFTER RECEIVING SPIERENBURG'S LETTER, WE ASKED DUTCH DELEGATION PRIVATELY HOW THEY ENVISAGED NATO CONSULTATIONS ON IT. DUTCH DELOFF SAID THAT THEY WOULD PROPOSE AT THE JUNE 28 SENIOR POLADS MEETING THAT SENIOR POLADS HAVE A FIRST LOOK AT THE DUTCH DRAFT EARLY NEXT WEEK, TO PREPARE FOR NAC DISCUSSION JULY 5 OR CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03071 01 OF 02 262138 Z

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3. MISSION OFFICER REPLIIED ON A PERSONAL BASIS THAT WE MIGHT OPPOSE THE SUGGESTION THAT THE SENIOR POLADS BEGIN EXAMINING THE

DUTCH TEXT BEFORE THE NAC HAD DISCUSSED IT. REMANDING THE TEXT TO SENIOR POLADS CARRIED THE IMPLICATION THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO BEGIN DETAILED DRAFTING OF A DECLARATION. MISSION OFFICER ANTICIPATED THAT THE US MIGHT PREFER THAT THE COUNCIL DEAL WITH THIS QUESTION IN THE FIRST INSTANCE AND THAT THE COUNCIL PRESS AHEAD PRIMARILY WITH AN EXAMINATION OF RELATIONSHIPS, AS CALLED FOR IN THE COPENHAGEN MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE.

- 4. DUTCH DELOFF EXPLAINED THAT DUTCH PERMREP SPIERENBURG FAVORED PRIOR REVIEW BY SENIOR POLADS SO THAT THE NAC WOULD HAVE SOME PRE-LIMINARY ALLIED REACTIONS TO THE DRAFT, INCLUDING ON THE POSSIBLE ORDERING OF PRARAGRAPHS. HE DID NOT SEE NAY POINT IN DELAYING DRAFTING, SINCE AN EARLY START WOULD BE NEEDED.
- 5. ACTION REQUESTED: UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED, WE WILL AT JUNE 28 SENIOR POLADS MEETING REPEAT THE POSITION DESCRIBED IN PARA 3 ABOVE AND AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD'S STATEMENT TO THE NAC ON JUNE 22 (USNATO 3025) WHEN THE DUTCH RAISE THE PROCEDURES FOR CONSULTING ON THEIR DRAFT.
- 6. FULL TEXT OF DRAFT " ATLANTIC DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT:
- 1. THE WORLD IS MARKED BY GREAT AND DRASTIC CHANGES-CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL FIELDS, CHANGES IN THE FIELD OF TECHNOLOGY, AND CHANGES IN THE OUTLOOK OF MEN. THE END OF THIS COMPREHENSIVE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION IS NOT IN SIGHT, AND IT WILL BE FAR FROM EASY TO STEER IT IN DIRECTIONS BENEFICIAL TO MANKIND. ALL OVER THE WORLD, HOLD PATTERNS AND STRUCTURES ARE GIVING WAY, AND MUST BE RESTORED OR BUILT ANEW. INTENSIVE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION WILL BE NECESSARY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS DIFFICULT TASK.

AS A RESULT OF BETTER AND MORE RAPID COMMUNICATIONS, AND THE EXPANSION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EXCHANGES, THE PEOPLES OF THIS WORLD HAVE BECOME MORE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 03071 01 OF 02 262138 Z

DEPENDENT ON EACH OTHER, AND MORE CONSCIOUS OF THEIR UNITY. AT THE SAME TIME, MANKIND FINDS ITSELF FACED WITH A NUMBER OF VAST AND ARDUOUS PROBELMS WHICH-IF NOT PROPERLY HANDLED- MIGHT LEAD TO THE DESINTEGRATION OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY: TO INSECURITY, POVERTY AND, ALSO, TO GRAVE DISTURBANCES OF MAN'S NATURAL ENVIRONMENT.

IN THE POLITICAL FIELDS, THERE IS A PROMISING DEVELOP-MENT TOWARDS STABILITY AND DETENTE, ESPECIALLY IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. BUT UNRESOLVED TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS REMAIN, ALTHOUGH IMPORTANT AGREEMENTS IN THE FIELD OF ARMS CONTROL HAVE BEEN EFFECTED, MILITARY ARMAMENT, BOTH CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR, IS STILL STEADILY INCREASING AND HAS NOT YET BEEN SUFFICIENTLY RESTRAINED. SOME PARTS OF THE WORLD, AN UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF MATERIAL WELL-BEING HAS BEEN REACHED. BUT ELSEWHERE, MILLIONS, OF PEOPLE ARE STILL SUFFERING FROM POVERTY AND WANT. CRITICAL MALADJUSTMENTS EXIST IN ININTERNATIONAL TRADE AND MONETARY RELATIONS. SERIOUS PROBLEMS ARE ALSO CAUSED BY THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH; IF INJUDICIOUSLY PURSUED, IT COULD INFLICT IRREPARABLE DAMAGE TO OUR NATURAL ENVIRONMENT, BY EXHAUSTION OF RESOURCES, INCREASING POLLUTION AND GENERAL MISMANAGEMENT.

- 2. THE SIGNATORIES OF THIS DECLARATION, THOUGH CONSCIOUS OF THE VASTNESS OF THE EXISTING PROBLEMS, YET FEEL THAT SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS CAN BE MADE ON THE WAY TOWARDS THEIR SOLUTION. THEY BELIEVE THAT SUFFICIENT POSSIBILITIES AND MEANS EXIST TO FURTHER THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WORLD COMMUNITY BASED ON BETTER SECURITY PROVISIONS; ON PEACEFUL AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN ALL STATES AND PEOPLES; ON A FAIR DISTRIBUTION OF ALL EARTHLY GOODS; ON RESPECT FOR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS; AND ON MUTUAL CO-OPERATION TO ATTAIN THESE ENDS.
- 3. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THE COUNTRIES OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS COMMON PURPOSE, CONSIDERING THAT:

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 03071 01 OF 02 262138 Z

- CLOSE CO- OPERATION IN THE ATLANTIC AND EUROPEAN FRAME-WORK IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN ESTABLISHING GREATER IN-TERNATIONAL STABILITY, DETENTE AND SECURITY, ON WHICH ALL PROGRESS IN THE WORLD DEPENDS;
- ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR MATERIAL WEALTH AND THEIR SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL RESOURCES, THE PEOPLES OF THE WEST ARE IN DUTY BOUND TO SUPPORT OTHER PEOPLES IN ATTAINING A HIGHER LEVEL OF PROSPERITY AND WELL-BEING;
- THE RICH CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE WEST INDUCES ITS PEOPLES ACTIVELY TO ASSIST IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LEGAL ORDER, BOTH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL, AND IN FOSTERING SOCIAL JUSTICE, DEMOCRACY AND RESPECT FOR THE HUMAN INDIVIDUAL.
- 4. ON THE STRENGTH OF THIS CONVICTION THEY EXPRESS THEIR READINESS AND THEIR DETERMINATION TO PUT THEIR CO- OPERATIVE EFFORTS TO THE SERVICE OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY OF NATIONS, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AND FAITHFUL TO ITS AIMS AND PRINCIPLES.

5. WITH THIS END IN VIEW THE SIGNATORIES HAVE EXAMINED ANEW THE FOUNDATIONS UPON WHICH THEIR CO-OPERATION RESTS, BOTH IN AN ATLANTIC AND IN AN EUROPEAN CONTEXT, AND UPON WHICH FURTHER DEVELOPMENT MUST PROCEED. THEY HAVE ALSO DISCUSSED THE ESSENCE OF THE PROBLEMS THAT NOW PRESENT THEMSELVES IN THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIPS AND IN PARTICULAR IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, AND THE UNITED STATES.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 03071 02 OF 02 262150 Z

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NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 DODE-00 IO-13 EA-11 EB-11 RSR-01

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P R 261835 Z JUN 73 FM USMISSION NATO TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 622 INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3091 USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3071

- 6. THE SIGNATORIES FOUND THEMSELVES IN FULL AGREEMENT THAT A CLOSE AND CONSTANT CO- OPERATION WITHIN THE FRAME-WORK OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS INDISPENSABLE TO SATISFY THE BASIC SECURITY REQUIREMENTS OF ITS MEMBERS; TO GUA-RANTEE THEIR INDEPENDENCE; AND TO ENABLE THEM, ON THIS BASIS, TO MAKE AN OPTIMAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE ENCOURAGING IMPROVEMENT OF THE CLIMATE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF A CONTINUING DETENTE IN EAST- WEST RE-LATIONS AND OF A PEACEFUL AND JUST WORLD ORDER. IN THIS CONTEXT, THEY EXPRESSED THEIR FIRM INTENTION TO PURSUE THEIR LONG- STANDING OBJECTIVES OF ACHIEVING A FUNDAMENTAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE IN EUROPE, AND A FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, INFORMATION AND IDEAS. THEY STRESSED THAT THESE OBJECTIVES WILL REMAIN A CENTRAL FACTOR IN THEIR FOREIGN POLICIES.
- 7. THE SIGNATORIES EXPRESSED THEIR DETERMINATION FAITH-FULLY TO OBSERVE THE PRINCIPLES OF REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.
  THESE ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUES WHICH THEY ARE DETER-

MINED TO PROMOTE. CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03071 02 OF 02 262150 Z

- 8. THE SIGNATORIES RECOGNIZED THAT THEY HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THOSE PARTS OF THE WORLD THAT HAVE LAGGED BEHIND IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THEY AGREED TO INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS IN THE FIELDS OF AID AND TRADE TO SUPPORT OTHER PEOPLES IN ATTAINING HIGHER LEVELS OF PROSPERITY AND WELL-BEING AND TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION, ESPECIALLY WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS.
- 9. THE SIGNATORIES OF THE COUNTRIES, MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES AND PARTICIPATING IN THE MACHINERY OF POLITICAL CO- OPERATION, AND OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA REAFFIRMED THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF A STABLE AND BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THEM. THEY WERE CONVINCED THAT THIS RELATIONSHIP, IN CONSONANCE WITH FRUITFUL RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, CONSTITUTES A MAJOR ELEMENT OF PROGRESS AND WELL- BEING. THEY CONFIRMED THAT THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR RELATIONS, WHICH WILL BEAR NO SIGNS OF EXCLUSIVITY OR PRIVILEGE, WILL TAKE HIGH PRIORITY AMONG THE OBJECTIVES OF THEIR FOREIGN POLICIES.

THEY FURTHER CONFIRMED THAT THE ONLY SOUND BASIS FOR SUCH A RELATIONSHIP IS:

- ONE OF EQUALITY AND INDEPENDENCE;
- ONE IN WHICH RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS IN THE WORLD IS SHARED TO THE FULLEST EXTENT POSSIBLE:
- ONE IN WHICH ALL CONCERNED MAKE A CONSTANT AND DETERMINED EFFORT TO ADJUST POLICIES IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO CREATE THE MINIMUM AMOUNT OF FRICTION BETWEEN THEM.

WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK, THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA AGAIN EXPRESSED THEIR LASTING SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE EUROPEAN STATES HERE CONCERNED TO TRANSFORM, BY 1980, THE FULL EXTENT OF THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS INTO A CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 03071 02 OF 02 262150 Z

EUROPEAN UNION.

10. THE COMBINED TASK OF ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE WEST CAN ONLY BE FULFILLED SUCCESSFULLY ON CONDITION THAT THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS IN THE POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECO-

NOMIC, COMMERCIAL, AND MONETARY FIELD ARE PUT ON A SOUND AND TROUBLEFREE BASIS. TO THIS END THE PROBLEMS EXISTING IN THESE AREAS MUST BE DEALT WITH BY MUTUAL ARRANGEMENTS, IN A SPIRIT REFLECTING THE FUNDAMENTAL INSEPARABILITY OF THE DESTINIES OF THEIR NATIONS, WITH UNDERSTANDING FOR EACH OTHER'S POSITIONS AND INTERESTS, AND WITH THE WILL TO MAINTAIN A FAIR AND BALANCED SHARING OF THE BURDENS. THE SIGNATORIES WILL ASSURE THAT DISCUSSION OF THESE PROBLEMS WILL COMMENCE OR, WHERE ALREADY IN PROGRESS, WILL PROCEED ALONG THE LINES HERE INDICATED, IN A MANNER WHICH WILL DO JUSTICE TO THE SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH OF THESE PROBLEM AREAS, AND WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL FORUM WHICH WILL BE MOST SUITABLE FOR EACH SEPARATE CASE.

11. THE SIGNATORIES HAVE AGREED TO MEET AGAIN PERIODICALLY IN ORDER TO TAKE STOCK OF THE STATE OF THEIR RELATIONSHIPS AND TO EVALUATE PROGRESS TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THE AIMS CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPHS 6, 7, 8, 9 AND 10.

12. THE SIGNATORIES BELIEVE THAT, BY THUS ORDERING THEIR AFFAIRS, THEIR COUNTRIES WILL FIND THEMSELVES BETTER PREPARED FOR THE GREAT TASKS WHICH LIE BEFORE THEM. THEY ADDRESS A SPECIAL APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES WITH A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING, SUCH AS JAPAN, WHO CARRY AN EQUAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE WORLD, TO JOIN THEM IN THE ENDEAVOUR TO ACHIEVE BETTER ECONOMIC, MONETARY AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS FOR THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

FINALLY, AWARE OF THE FACT THAT SOME COUNTRIES ARE ENDOWED WITH LARGER POSSIBILITIES THAN OTHERS BUT THAT, IN ESSENCE, ALL SHARE EQUAL, THE SIGNATORIES OF THIS DECLARATION INVITE ALL OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO WORK WITH THEM, IN JOINT EFFORT, TOWARDS THE GOAL OF A WORLD OF CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 03071 02 OF 02 262150 Z

JUSTICE, FRIENDSHIP, PROSPERITY, AND PEACE.

JUNE, 1973 END TEXT. PRENDERGAST

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